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TO : Chief, Western Hemisphere Division  
 FROM : Chief of Station, Santiago  
 SUBJECT : Overview Assessment of March Election Prospects

1. The above airgram provides listing of candidates for March 1973 senatorial and deputy elections. During past couple of weeks Station has queried appropriate assets and conducted an analysis of the various races. As the opposition political parties enter into the final ten weeks of intensive campaign activity, Station believes it will be useful to have an overview of how we see the various races and opposition prospects as of this writing. Such an overview will also provide us with a yardstick for measuring campaign progress and developments.  
 for you to have Station's own pragmatic views as a basis for comparison.

**SENATE RACES**

2. Of the twenty-five senate seats up for election, the political opposition currently holds sixteen. The opposition parties need to win all of these and pick up one additional seat in order to obtain a two-thirds majority in the senate. This objective, however, will be extremely difficult to accomplish since incumbent senatorial alignment is the product of elections when the Christian Democratic Party was at its electoral peak. Station views on the five senatorial races are as follows:

A. **SECOND DISTRICT:** Opposition parties will have considerable difficulty in winning a third senatorial seat in this district. The Govt enjoys a traditional electoral edge in this zone, although recent election for deputy demonstrated a considerable erosion in U.P. support. Zaldivar and Noemi appear to be the two leading opposition candidates, while Campusano and Aguilera are certain winners for the Govt ticket. A strong campaign on part of all opposition candidates is needed if Mercado is to win the third opposition seat.

B. **FOURTH DISTRICT:** The opposition is believed to have a fair prospects for electing four of five senators from the capital district (they will need sixty-seven percent of total vote under D'Hondt system). Former President Frei of PDC and PN candidate Jarpa will insure maximum voter turnout from both parties, and are assured of winning. PDC incumbent Musalem also appears a possible winner. PIR candidate Baltra is expected to occupy fourth position among opposition senatorial candidates, and would gain the fourth seat if opposition achieves necessary percentage. Govt incumbents Teitelboim (PCH) and Altamirano (PS) will lead the U.P. balloting, however, Altamirano might lose his seat if Govt fails to poll over one-third of votes needed to retain second seat.

Distribution:  
 3 - Chief, WHD

Date 21 Dec 1972

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| FORM 53a<br>8-64 (40) | CLASSIFICATION<br><b>S E C R E T</b> | <input type="checkbox"/> CONTINUED |
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CONTINUATION OF  
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A. SECOND DISTRICT: Opposition parties will have considerable difficulty in winning a third senatorial seat in this district. The Govt enjoys a traditional electoral edge in this zone, although recent election for deputy demonstrated a considerable erosion in U.P. support. Zaldivar and Noemi appear to be the two leading opposition candidates, while Campusano and Aguilera are certain winners for the Govt ticket. A strong campaign on part of all opposition candidates is needed if Mercado is to win the third opposition seat.

B. FOURTH DISTRICT: The opposition is believed to have a fair prospects for electing four of five senators from the capital district (they will need sixty-seven percent of total vote under D'Hondt system). Former President Frei of PDC and PN candidate Jarpa will insure maximum voter turnout from both parties, and are assured of winning. PDC incumbent Musalem also appears a possible winner. PIR candidate Baltra is expected to occupy fourth position among opposition senatorial candidates, and would gain the fourth seat if opposition achieves necessary percentage. Govt incumbents Teitelboim (PCCH) and Altamirano (PS) will lead the U.P. balloting, however, Altamirano might lose his seat if Govt fails to poll over one-third of votes needed to retain second seat.

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C. SIXTH DISTRICT: Opposition is assured of three senatorial seats and has possibility of earning fourth senator. Incumbents Aylwin of PDC and Diez of PN will lead opposition balloting and are certain of winning. Second PDC incumbent Foncea is also a certain winner. If opposition is to obtain fourth senatorial seat, it will go to PIR candidate Velasco. PS deputy Schnake and PCCH deputy Toro will lead U.P. ticket.

D. EIGHTH DISTRICT: Opposition is assured of three senate seats and has slight possibility of winning a fourth senator. Incumbents Fuentealba (PDC) and Phillips (PN) are both certain winners. Second PDC candidate Lavanderos will likely win third seat. PDR incumbent Duran will probably win only if opposition obtains a fourth senate seat. For Govt side, PR incumbent Luengo and former Minister Suarez (PS) will lead U.P. balloting.

D. TENTH DISTRICT: Opposition is assured of three senators; it will be very difficult to win a fourth senate seat in this zone although four opposition incumbents are in the race. PDC candidates Hamilton and Larca both are assured of victory, as is PN incumbent Ochagavia. PDR candidate Raul Morales will likely run fourth on opposition ticket. For the Govt, incumbent Sepulveda (PS) and deputy Carlos Morales (PR) will probably lead the U.P. balloting.

## DEPUTY RACES BY PROVINCE

## TARAPACA (4)

Two/two split is inevitable outcome. PN incumbent Guerra and PDC incumbent Palza seem sure bets. PC incumbent Atencio also is sure winner with PS candidate Long likely second Govt deputy.

## ANTOFAGASTA (7)

Earlier estimate gave opposition only three of seven seats; however it is felt that growing discontent and deteriorating economic situation may allow opposition to win fourth seat. PDC incumbents Recabarren and Araya are sure winners. PN has very little vote in this area, however, with an Alessandri (Arturo) on ticket the PN may win one seat. PIR incumbent Clavel is quite popular locally and is a likely winner. PCCH incumbent Robles is certain winner; one of two PS regidores will also win.

## ATACAMA (2)

Govt and opposition will split the two seats. Both incumbents, however, are opposition, Barrionuevo of PDC and Magalhaes of PIR, and will fight over seat; PDC will have edge. PS and PR running local officials; PS will likely win due to split of Radical vote.

## COQUIMBO (7)

Opposition certain of three seats and has good possibility for a fourth. PDC has two incumbents (Penna and Torres) running and both should win. PN is running three local personalities (but one was injured and may withdraw); one of them ought to win a seat. Orlando Poblete of PIR also rates a good chance, but must cut into PR incumbent Fuentealba's vote. On Govt side, Amanda Altamirano (PCCH) is sure winner, as is one of two PS candidates (Juliberto is member of PS Central Committee). API, MAPU and IC each have candidates and one of these might slip in if the Govt should win a fourth deputy seat.

## ACONCAQUA (3)

Opposition will win two of three seats; however, it currently holds three and all the incumbents are running. PDC incumbents

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| <p>Cerda and Iglesias will fight it out. PN incumbent Godoy is secure. PS and PCCH are running local officials and will vie for Govt seat.</p> <p>VALPARAISO (12)</p> <p>Opposition should win seven of twelve seats. PDC is running six candidates including three incumbents (Cardemil, Sepulveda and Santibanez) and should win four deputies (the fourth seat replacing PDC-leaning Independent Oscar Marin). Teresa Maillet, PDC women's leader is good bet for fourth deputy. PN is running four candidates; two are incumbents (Lorca and Scarella) and they are both likely winners. Seventh seat will likely go to PIR's Carlos Soya who did very well in last municipal elections. From Govt side, PCCH is running three incumbents (Cantero, Andrade and Guastavino) plus another candidate, and may have trouble holding on to all three seats. The PS has four local officials and will elect at least one. The IC's Gianini and the PR's Barahona are both incumbents, but it is difficult to assess their local strength and re-election prospects.</p> <p>SANTIAGO - First District (18)</p> <p>Opposition will win at least eleven of the eighteen deputy seats, and will be shooting for twelve (a large Frei vote might elect extra deputy). The PDC is running eight candidates and could win six of the opposition deputies. The four PDC incumbents (Saavedra, Leighton, Pareto and Sanhueza) all should be returned; Claudio Orrego could also win and sixth seat could go to either JDC president Hormazabal or labor leader Pereira. The PN is running six candidates and could win four seats or more. The PN incumbents (Frias, Monckeberg, and Arnello) would all seem likely winners; Silvia Pinto could also win. PN youth leader Ossa may edge out an incumbent. The PDR is running two candidates, incumbent Senoret and Rafael Otero. Latter appears to be sure winner since he receiving strong PN support in addition to his own party's efforts. The PIR is running Venegas who also has a chance to win.</p> <p>From U.P. side, the PCCH will certainly win two seats, most likely incumbents Marin and Rojas. PS will also win two deputies; incumbent Carmen Lazo is sure winner and Fidelma Allende likely. Luis Maira is IC incumbent and also possible winner. API, MAPU and PR are all running name candidates and may have a shot at odd seat since PCCH and PS each running three candidates.</p> <p>SANTIAGO - Second District (5)</p> <p>Opposition will have to work but is expected to win third seat. PDC incumbent, Blanca Retamal, is certain winner, along with PN candidate Luciano Vasquez. PIR is running candidate (Corcuera); however, third opposition seat would most likely be won by second PDCer (Saavedra). For Govt Laura Allende is certain victor. PCCH is running a political unknown, possibly in effort to help IC incumbent (from Third District, however) Silva Solar win.</p> <p>SANTIAGO - Third District (5)</p> <p>Opposition will win three of five deputies. This is most populous voting district in country (63,000 electoral quotient). PDC and PN have even split of relative vote and are assured of one deputy each, incumbents Zaldivar and Gustavo Alessandri. The second PN and PDC candidates will be fighting for the third seat (Dupre vs Monckeberg). On U.P. ticket, incumbents Insunza (PCCH) and Mario Palestro (PS) are both certain winners.</p> |                                     |                                                                                                             |
| FORM 53a<br>6-64<br>(40)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | CLASSIFICATION<br><del>SECRET</del> | PAGE NO. 3<br><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> CONTINUED                                                 |

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| <p><b>SANTIAGO - Fourth District (5)</b></p> <p>Opposition will win three of five deputies. PDC incumbent Aylwin and PN incumbent Jaime Bulnes are both certain winners. Second PDC candidate, Juana Dipp (who former deputy) will likely win third seat. Govt incumbents, Mireya Baltra (PCCH) and Matias Nunez (PS) are also safe victors.</p> <p><b>O'HIGGINS (6)</b></p> <p>Opposition will have to work, but could possibly take four of six seats. PDC incumbents Monares and Tudela are both safe seats, as is PN incumbent Mekis. Fourth seat will go to either PDR candidate (Retes) or second PN (Echenique). Echenique would appear to have best chance at this time. For the Govt incumbent Hector Olivares (PS) is safe; PCCH candidate, Vladimir Lenin Chavez, also looks certain.</p> <p><b>COLCHAGUA (4)</b></p> <p>Opposition will probably take three of four seats. PN and PDC each have one sure seat. There is a big Radical vote here, and it strange that PIR/PDR did not insist on candidates. PS incumbent Joel Marambio is running, as is PR incumbent Hector Rios; one will lose.</p> <p><b>CURICO (3)</b></p> <p>Opposition will win two of three deputy seats. PDC incumbent Garces is safe; question will be whether PDR incumbent Campos can edge PN Ramirez. For Govt, PS member Martinez, who on Central Committee and Ranquil campesino leader, seems to be frontrunner.</p> <p><b>TALCA (5)</b></p> <p>Opposition will take three of five seats. PDC incumbent Ramirez is safe and PN incumbent Rodriguez is a probable winner. Second PDCer, Renato Guerra, is best bet for third seat. For Govt PCCH is running schoolteacher to give API, MAPU and PR shot at Govt seat.</p> <p><b>MAULE (3)</b></p> <p>Opposition will win two of three seats. However, all the incumbents are presently of opposition. PDC incumbent Valdes is safe. Fight will be between PN's Vega and PIR's Naudon. In interesting maneuver, all three of Govt candidates are API, but all are weak candidates.</p> <p><b>LINARES (4)</b></p> <p>Opposition could take three of four deputies. PDC incumbent Castilla and PN incumbent Romero are both certain winners. PIR incumbent Ibanez is best bet for third seat. PS, PR, MAPU and API are all running and it is hard to tell who has edge.</p> <p><b>NUBLE - San Carlos (3)</b></p> <p>Opposition will win two seats and Govt one. Opposition has two incumbents, Fuentes of PDC and Riesco of PN; both appear certain victors. Govt has one incumbent, PR deputy Irribarra; PS candidate might challenge him for seat, however.</p> |                                                                   |                                                                                  |
| FORM 538<br>8-64<br>(40)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | USE PREVIOUS EDITION.<br><br>CLASSIFICATION<br><b>S E C R E T</b> | <input checked="checked" type="checkbox"/> CONTINUED<br>PAGE NO. 4<br>[REDACTED] |

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| <p>NUBLE - Chillan (5)</p> <p>Opposition will win three of five seats; present incumbents Vergara of PDC, Alamos of PN, and Basso of PIR should all be re-elected. Basso is assured of victory since Radicals have good strength in area and PN and PDC each running two candidates. The Govt incumbents belong to IC (Jaramillo) and PR (Jarpa). PCCH and PS have put up weak candidates in order give them chance to repeat; MAPU also running candidate which might hurt IC's Jaramillo.</p> <p>CONCEPCION (9)</p> <p>Opposition will win five of nine seats. PDC has three incumbents (Ruiz-Esquide, Frei and Mosquera) and will have to conduct hard campaign to retain all of them. PN is running two newcomers, Von Rysseberghe and King, but is assured of one deputy. PIR incumbent Jaque should also have good shot of winning (total Radical vote in April 1971 was 10.7%), although Govt is running former Minister Orlando Cantuarias. PCCH has two incumbents (Santiago and Fuentealba) and the PS has Espinoza, all of whom should be likely winners. PR's Cantuarias might win if Radicals in area continue to support the U.P. MAPU is running former Under Secy of Economy, Garreton, who rates only longshot prospect.</p> <p>ARAUCO (2)</p> <p>This is heavily U.P. territory; however, opposition should be able to insure a split in the seats (they obtained 37% of the vote in April 1971). Ironically, both incumbents are of the opposition (PDC Huepe and PDR Laemmermann) and one of them will fall. PC and PR are running for the Govt.</p> <p>BIO-BIO (4)</p> <p>Opposition will surely win two seats and has good shot at third deputy. PDC incumbent Stark is certain winner. PN incumbent Rios is also likely winner, but will be hard-pressed by PDR candidate Hunt Sharpe (who is a relative to PIR incumbent Mario Sharpe, who although not running is lending his support to Hunt). If opposition can win three seats, both Rios and Hunt will be in. PC incumbent Tejada should head Govt ticket.</p> <p>MALLECO (6)</p> <p>Opposition will win four of six seats. There are three opposition incumbents: PDC has Sivori, PN De La Fuente, and PIR Munoz. Each should easily win. There is big Radical vote to be sought here (25.2% in 1971). PIR candidate assured since PDC running two and PN carrying three candidates; fact that PN running three candidates may give fourth seat to PDC Galilea. Govt has allowed MAPU, API and IC to fight out their victor.</p> <p>CAUTIN (10)</p> <p>With ten deputy candidates, this is big race where opposition could pick up seven seats. PDC should win three seats (incumbents Merino and Alvarado, plus former Minister Krauss), while PN will likely take two seats (they have three incumbents: Momberg, Carmine, and Schleyer). Both PDR (Becker) and PIR (Mellado) are running and Becker appears to be certain to win (in 1971 PDR attracted 10.1% of vote with 8.2% remaining with PR). There is a big Radical vote to be fought over. Seventh seat could go to either PN (their third incumbent) or PDC. Interestingly, of three Govt incumbents none of them is running for re-election. PR running only one candidate (Loboa) who stands good chance. Also one of the two PC candidates.</p> |                                     |                                                                                                                                    |
| FORM 8-64 53a USE PREVIOUS EDITION.<br>(40)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | CLASSIFICATION<br><del>SECRET</del> | PAGE NO. 5<br><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> CONTINUED <span style="background-color: black; color: black;">[REDACTED]</span> |

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| <p>VALDIVIA (5)</p> <p>Opposition has three of five seats assured. PDC has two incumbents running (Koenning and Toledo) with one of them as certain victor, with the second place man likely taking the third deputy seat. PN incumbent Acuna is also a certain winner. Govt victor will probably be incumbent (PS) Olave.</p> <p>OSORNO (3)</p> <p>Opposition will win two of three seats. PDC candidate Montt is sure winner. Either PN candidate Schott or PIR incumbent Jaurequi will win second seat. No indication which of Govt candidates (PC, PS and PR) has best chance.</p> <p>LLANQUIHUE (3)</p> <p>Opposition will win two deputies and U.P. one. PDC incumbent Paez is a sure winner; PN candidate Marchant also best bet over PIR Essedin. Again Govt is running all local personalities (PS, PC and MAPU).</p> <p>CHILOE (3)</p> <p>Opposition again wins two of three. PN incumbent Tapia and PDC Garay are likely winners. From Govt side, PR has incumbent (Ferreira), but he may be edged by PC and PS candidates.</p> <p>AISEN (2)</p> <p>A one-to-one split. PDC Carrasco is incumbent and likely winner; same holds for PS incumbent Ortega.</p> <p>MAGALLANES (2)</p> <p>Again a one-to-one split. PDC incumbent Perez and PS incumbent Gonzalez are favorites.</p> <p>ELECTION SUMMARY</p> <p>3. Given the above estimates and calculations, Station believes that the opposition political parties are assured of at least fourteen senatorial seats (2-3-3-3-2 distribution), with a good prospect for a fifteenth seat in the second district (Santiago). Additional senatorial seats will be difficult to obtain. In the house of deputies races the opposition, based on above estimates, is assured of at least eighty-eight deputy seats with good prospects for gaining as many as six additional deputies. Above the ninety-four seat deputy mark for the opposition, the races become quite difficult. These estimates, of course, are based on study of past electoral patterns, plus assessment of individual candidates in the various races. Station, however, has no way to assess present degree of popular disillusionment with the U.P. Govt, nor to evaluate the likely impact that the next two months of active campaigning will have on final electoral results.</p> <p></p> |                                     |                                                                                                                            |
| FORM 53a<br>8-64<br>(40)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | CLASSIFICATION<br><del>SECRET</del> | PAGE NO.<br><input type="checkbox"/> CONTINUED                                                                             |